to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(3) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druze, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more powerful reserves in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the means of emigration. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of Jewish immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced face to face with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 55 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependents on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an ever-

* Fourteen per-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen per-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† E. Hlimdich, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

INTRODUCTION

THE Middle East is the overseas land which lies at the junction of Africa, Asia, and Europe. To the extent that Western known knows it at all, their "knowledge" of it all too often consists largely of conventional half-truths, exaggerations born either of day-dreams or of over-emphasis on certain aspects of life, and out-and-out fables. The Middle East has long been a fabulous place to Westerners, and it will probably remain so, but there are good reasons why it and the life of its people should not remain "mysterious" or "inscrutable." They need not remain so if answers can found to properly formulated questions. This is easier said than done, but it is not impossible.

The history of the area is too long and eventful, and its culture is too complex, to be reviewed here. Information on these topics is readily available in such sources as Bevilacqua (1967), Hitti (1948, 1951), and Cook (1951). One fact, however, needs to be pointed out. During the past hundred and fifty years, European and American political, economic, religious, and philanthropic interests have set in motion in the Middle East a process of culture change which has gathered considerable momentum in recent years. Some of the lines of change—for example, in education and new orientations in health, hygiene, and economics—have been the conscious goals and direct results of one or more of the foreign interests. Others, such as nationalism and the rise of political parties, have been indirect and unforeseen reactions to the activities of these interests.

Since the first World War, and ever increasing in intensity since then, the processes of culture change already set in motion have been complicated and augmented by two additional factors. (1) Nearly all the effective techniques of communication and communication which have been developed in the West have been introduced into the Middle East. As a result, the region is being flooded with many varieties of western ideas and artifacts, often regardless of their quality and torn from their cultural matrix. The confusion which this causes can be either painful to experience and to observe. (2) This confusion is compounded by the fact that among the western ideas which reach the Middle East are those which closely reveal the confusion which the West itself is undergoing as a result of the tremendous changes which its culture has not yet assimilated. Many of these ideas arrive in the form of emotionally charged propaganda.

Large numbers of people in the Middle East do not attempt to analyze objectively the nature of these alien culture elements (many of which are confusing them with demands for their allegiance), but they are, nevertheless, vitally

interested in them. However, since they usually lack anything but a very superficial knowledge of Western culture, they grossly oversimplify them, and they interpret, accept, or reject them in accordance with their various positions and interests. In the meantime, there is a generalized and widespread distrust of all Westerners, but there are forces both inside and outside the Middle East which will not rest until at least a significant portion of it has made a definite choice between conflicting forces in the West. In the meantime, the Middle East is subject to the position of a man in a risky seat, whose predecessor has handed him the reins but continues to run along beside him, first telling him to run in one direction and then in another.

Though the traditional culture of the Middle East persists in many significant ways which cannot be ignored, the present culture as a whole can fully be comprehended only in the light of the acculturative process to which it is being subjected. This process, as we have seen, is an exceedingly complicated phenomenon. Because it is complicated and in full course, it is rather difficult to analyze. Furthermore, it is often difficult for Westerners to free themselves from subjective judgments in the matter since they themselves are involved in it. Consequently, there is a bewildering array of widely varied impressions and opinions. Here are four of them, arranged in pairs. Change in the Middle East is only skin deep; it involves only the superficial, material aspects of life. Life nowadays in a city like Beirut or Cairo is just like life in a modern European city. Again, great improvements have been made in education, public health, and farming techniques. The Middle East is oppressed by ignorance, disease, and antiquated subsistence techniques. Many others could be noted, but these will do.

One has only to look in the appropriate places and talk to the appropriate people to find apparently convincing evidence of the truth of all these propositions. As a reality, they possess some contradictions. Three are, of course, accentuated by faulty logic and the injection of emotional bias, but the fact remains that when the Middle East as a whole is considered, genuine contradictions are bound to be encountered. Its culture is complex, and, like all cultures, it is composed of many interlocking parts. The culture change process which is working upon it is multilateral, it has affected different regions in different ways, and different parts of culture in different ways.

No matter how many problems stand in the way of a systematic approach to the study of Middle East culture-in-change, such an approach is, nevertheless, feasible, provided it is begun intensively and on a limited scale, and a small village is an excellent place to begin.

Anthropological research could be initiated in any one of the three basic types of ecological niches which characterize the Middle East: the nomadic group, the village, and the urban center. The village is to be found in every country of the Middle East. Nomadic groups and urban centers are not quite so extensively distributed. Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest in

cooking. There is a violent love-cult (*majdalieni*), but this is not considered to be very lusty. However, dark grey, washed, are mixed with *zibibi* to form a very popular and filling "sweet" called *jbeney bajjiini*. This is served as a celebration dish, or in addition to, bites.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Sometimes canned fruits, also, supplement the local fruit supply which is rather meagre, although in summers, are seldom are consumed in large quantities, or with-in spoils and crisps.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and best-acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

(Continued)

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive in Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghombaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Winstone (1946, p. 101) says that it is of Beda origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shroual* (unmistakably baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. *Gendgour* is the cylindrical *yatmeh*, common felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *yatmeh*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *tikhweh*, which is often worn elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but most of them have adopted European (*frenji*) clothes. For work, they wear coveralls, but European trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes naked except small boys and girls in summer. Ipod shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear gilik helmets and pullover-like sweaters which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shroual* which most are observed on any men under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shroual*, nevertheless retain the *yatmeh* which, however, is not

[illegible]

[illegible] stage. The most popular occupation, naturally, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it may be said, as Sir Archibald Geikie once remarked concerning the Celtic [illegible], that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the social status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be taking an intolerable analogue of man's status and role in life on too familiar a basis than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

[illegible] It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,200,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Khuri-Hatab (1956, p. 11) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprise. Lombardo (1948, p. 414) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometre in recent times (Khuri-Hatab, 1956, p. 11).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1960, 330,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The richest period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 31,000 per year emigrated (Khuri-Hatab, 1956, p. 12). There was virtually none during the two wars the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Most emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Khuri-Hatab some men were reported of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for holidays—striking evidence of the force of the principle of kin[illegible]. A few such men remained in Khuri but none since the 1920's.

It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from [illegible] the interest of the way-of-life beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of £4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hanauer, 1940, p. 99). This was offset by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to [illegible] in 1938 (Khuri-Hatab, 1956, p. 18).

The people of Khuri have done their share in the process of emigration.

to validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and societies seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and work that was made by the Mongolian to the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has caused problems as well as opened new opportunities.

The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of learning is far limited in many few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon religious beliefs (cf. Tibawi, 1963a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic goals for their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized, (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1956, p. 94), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Mongolian are a very good example. Hays Beals gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But now for the beautiful language remained intact, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Rifa'i Tahtawi and Ahmad Fariyah, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 139-40.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of Western education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Beals[illegible], 1956, pp. 170-73).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that drawn us by Beals. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, as instruction on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual elements of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn feels that the process of transition is full of disruption to which morality declines, vain dissipations, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without possessing the nature of that culture (1956, p. 95).

[illegible]

[illegible] has [illegible] among other things, very definitely an [illegible] element, and it is most frequently expressed in terms of opposition to foreign powers. This opposition is not entirely unjustified, but it very often exceeds reason, and becomes pretty emotional hatred. There is much truth in Schuyler's contention that this xenophobia is a general reaction to the many frustrations inherent in the underdeveloped situation, that it is, in many cases, a scapegoat mechanism (ibid., pp. 97–98).

Lebanese Christians, such as the Maronites, appear to have especially painful ambivalent feelings in this matter. Much of the xenophobia at present has particular reference to the United States because of its role in the establishment of Israel. But since World War II, the United States and its citizens enjoyed a considerably less opposition among the Lebanese, which could not be completely erased by subsequent events. Many villagers attempt to resolve the conflict by trying to persuade themselves and each other that all the things of the Americans are, in some way or other, motivated by hostility towards them. This unrequited persuasion does not appear to have been entirely successful, and the process continues.

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST

Charles Malik, the distinguished Lebanese philosopher and statesman, has recently written that the reader with Northrop's book, *The Meeting of East and West*, is that it does not take into consideration the meeting of the two, namely the Middle East (Malik, 1957, p. 6). Malik, whose own career is an outstanding example of the accommodative process, is deeply troubled, as everyone concerned is, by the disruption which accidentally has ensued in the Middle East, and he wants to find, as you do, much into anthropological terms, that mutual understanding and the reduction of tensions will only be achieved when and if the salient premises of the West are perceived and appreciated by the East. We hope that he is not implying that these salient premises should be imposed on the East, but in any case, he is correct in pointing out that Western influence has so far been disproportionately on the material side. The Arabs appreciate the practical advantages of the products of Western investments, but in general they have been given little opportunity to learn that the West has anything more to offer than tools, techniques and money. Consequently, one hears frequently the bitter remark that while they, the Arabs, are a spiritual people, the Westerners are mere materialists. Though many have been exposed to segments of Western thought in school and college, few have been able to achieve a genuine rapport with the commonly disembodied material.

And so, the meeting of East and West in the Middle East at the present time can be viewed as a conflict of values. According to Kunen (1971, p. 137), there are a few who would resolve the conflict by having the Middle East break away completely from its own culture (which they themselves have done). This view

(1) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, [illegible]
closely correlated or overlapping norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Malinowski (1945, pp. 162-63) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Bascom's terms (Bascom, 1948, p. 11), we can say that if the practice of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will adopt it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments to otherwise stable systems, and that its meaning is within values (for example, a part of foreign acculturation) not in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is that which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in that would involve some expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violations of conditions 1 and 2). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gratifies socially (violations of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they desire on [illegible] subsistence to being able to maintain old patterns in the area of [illegible] where no change is forced upon them.

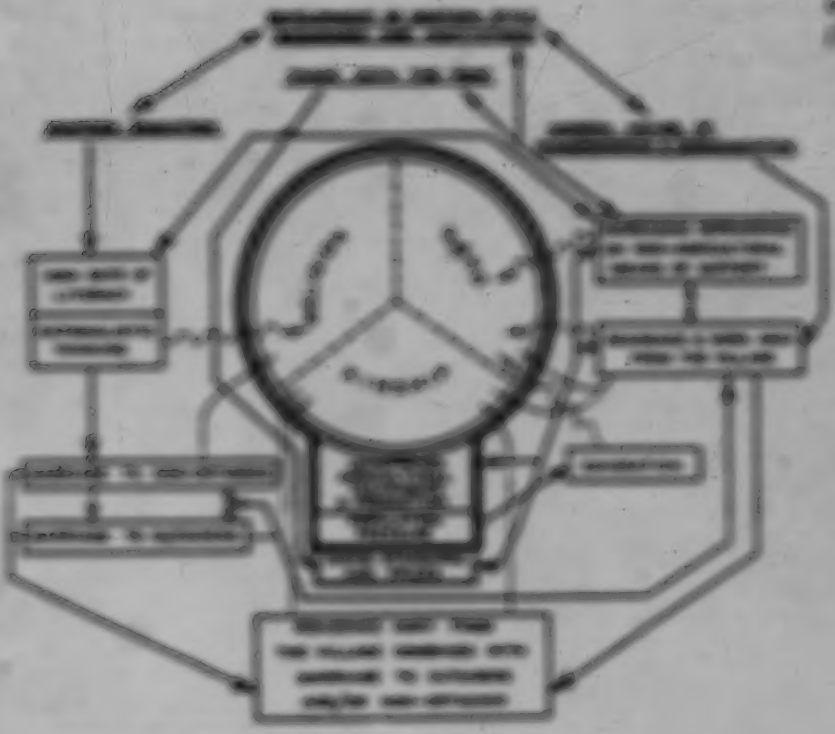
The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although [illegible] farming itself has [illegible] modality in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a remote village like Mowgli, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use what it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone [illegible] profound change. A number of local specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly the primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from other occupations.

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

distance. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is not the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Munsif the principle of devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

Religion. It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives sanctions to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Munsif is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialistic nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion retains its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Munsif. We have seen that the Munsifis clearly identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have conspicuously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villagers' minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Redfield, 1950, p. 89.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the fundamental of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Mansūf, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.
621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
• 177 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 not alive by the desire for further education.
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 creation of the village school idea. In 1904, under
975 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Rajaa-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

P-349(2)

871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizzeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance to all village girls. Aside from that, the two sects in Bishmizzeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sects at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sects in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

362
871

621 Within a few years the school became the focus
871 of village life. It seems that the more physical
517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizzeen, the village of education.

536 One more vital activity began to take place at
517 the school, involving the whole of the village community and other villages, too. That was the
[177] ting of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

P 341 (a)

536 621 On such occasions, a huge crowd, from Rishmiyeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. That was one more example of how the village fitted a new item of behavior into its established folkways. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 184 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the tremendous influence of the play, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry; but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

871 199 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religious, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Rishmiyeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

p. 842 (A)

87/177 influential. This has been due to several factors, as was shwn in the previous discussion—the early start of the Protestant mission in the village, the leadingpersonality of Anis Salhun, the failure of the Russian mission to establish a school in Bishmizzine, and emigration by the village people to the United States.

The following figures show to what extent the Bishmizzine people have been educated at American, Frenchand native schools, outside the village. No other return of education has been able to reach that community. The figures cover a period of fifty years, from 1890 to 1939, and show the number of men or women who have been educated at high schols or colleges. A total of 140 people have attended American high schools or colleges, for one or mre years. Of these, 78 are men and 62 women. To shave of the high schools is 90 (48 men and 5 women). The shave of the college is 41 (30 men ad 11 women).

It shouldbe observed that men and women have been reache equally by the high school, as regards the numbereducated and the starting period in the history of the village. However, with reference to college roberts, there are almost three times as many me as women. Also, men started to go to college such earlier. A possible explanatiih for the discrepancy is that a high school education was as far a the village traditions would go in the case of girls. After all, the status of woman has always beenthat of a housewife and mother. A more plausie explanation is that the American Protestant mission in those early days did not encourage ciege education for girls. Before 1919, the missionhad no provision for girls' college education.

Coming to French high schools and colleges, we find that oly 16 people have been touched by that system of education—11 men and 5 women. Of these 1 (6 men and 5 women) went to high school whi only 5 (men) went to college.

The following figures on native education cover only high chool, for no native college education has ever ben established in Lebanon. A total of 56 people(16 men and 40 women) have been educated i native high schools. The great excess of womenover men in this case is due to the presence on good sectarian school (Greek Orthodox) for gis in addition to the state school for both sexes. Native education is a new movement in the country, and it has not yet had the time to assume a sble and distinctive character.

P-342 (2)

871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
•177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influential in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community. (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

P-343 (cl)

McGulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge — a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America — mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs — all of European manufacture and/or design — are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
LEBANON MEI
SYRIA MDI

S L 142 795

shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druzes, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

S L 643

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

S L 142 262 291 177

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

S L 175

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, and yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria an

44:Matthews and Akrawi 3,C-3 (1943-1949)1949 ME Middle East
Lebanon ME1

cultural work abroad. This was still the situation at the time of the visit of the American Council Commission to Lebanon.

It was not possible for the Commission to visit even one example from each type of French schools in Lebanon. Aside from the schools of the Mission Laïque and the Collège Protestant Français, however, the pattern of the French missionary schools is substantially the same. The success of their work is shown by the large number of Lebanese men and women, especially Catholics, who speak French fluently, and some of whom think, speak, and write in French even more easily than they do in their native Arabic.

The large French schools usually have primary and secondary departments combined on the same premises so that the primary grades are actually preparatory to the secondary, or *lycée*, sections, in much the same way as is the general practice in France. They are usually fee-charging institutions, the fees ranging from £L100 ($45) to £L350 ($160) for tuition, on an ascending scale from the lowest primary to the highest secondary grade. Boarding fees may range between £L600 and £L750 ($275 to $344). Some of the orders, however, maintain special primary schools for poor children where instruction is free. This separation of the poor children from those who can pay seems to be a fairly prevalent practice.

The staffs of the schools are usually both French and Lebanese, the proportion varying. The number of Frenchmen may constitute as many as one-half and sometimes as low as one-third. A large part of the staff of missionary schools consists of monks or nuns who receive no pay for their services and cost only their maintenance. The rest are laymen, usually Lebanese. In spite of this, fees are usually higher than those charged in native schools. Some of the money seems to be spent on the schools for poor children, as well as on maintaining the work of the mission. Some missions have been known to save some money for future expansion of, and building programs for, the schools. At one time the Jesuits had their own normal school for the training of teachers for their village schools. This, however, has been discontinued.

The schools visited by the Commission were housed, on the whole, in good buildings, with spacious quarters, usually large classrooms, and more or less adequate yard-space for recreation periods, though not enough provision had been made for playgrounds for athletic activities. The better schools were usually well equipped with libraries, and some of them had laboratories and natural history museums. Boarding facilities

44 Matthews and Akrawi 5, G-3 (1945–194)1949 ME Middle East

Lebanon MEI

873 institutions of the Arab peoples, Islamic sociology, and history of Arabic philosophy. In some years, courses i the Aramaic languages (biblical Aramaic, ancient Aramaic epigraphy),and Syriac language and history are given; (2) archeology and history of yria and Phoenicia; (3) Armenian language and culture. Completion of tudies ends in an examination for certificates comparable to the certificas of the *Licence ès Lettres* in a French Faculty of Letters. The Univrsité, however, is not entitled to grant this degree, and those student who receive four certificates are granted a Diploma of Oriental Studis of the Université.

[814] The Institute publishes an Arabic rview, *el-Machriq*, first published in 1898, and a series of monographs known as *Les Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* which are studies in Semitics, archeology, history, and philology of the Near East.

●177 French ducation and French cultre have deep and long-established roots in Lebanon. They have exertd a tremendous influence on the thoughts, attitudes, and habits of the .ebanese, particularly the Catholics. When Lebanon attained its indepenence in 1943, the French government attempted to insure the ascendnce of French cultural influence by proposing a cultural treaty which would have given it almost a monopoly on cultural and educational influencein Lebanon. This was, with slight modifications, the same treaty which was offered to Syria and rejected by it. It proved to be also unacceptableto the Lebanese government. The French, having lost Lebanon, are stil exerting great efforts through the Œuvres Françaises and through thei schools to maintain their cultural influence. There is no doubt that in ths they have the support of a section of the Christian population which hasbeen brought up along French lines and is loath to see that influence weaen. Already, however, a perceptible shift toward English and a demand fr it are noticeable. Nevertheless, if what has happened in Egypt in the last century is any measure, French cultural influence will probably remain strong for a long time to come.

44:Matthews and Akrawi 8, G-3 (1945–1948)1949 ME Middle East
Lebanon MEI

873 795 Christians as well. Forty-five Christians were in the secondary section, which enrolled a total of 154 students. It is staffed by a principal, an assistant, and twenty-six teachers, not including nine women kindergarten teachers. Fees range from £L40 to £L325 ($18 to $148) with an addition of another £L500 ($228) for boarding students. The College is almost self-supporting and is said to charge the highest fees in Sidon. Children of teachers are accepted gratis in the primary school and on half-fees in the secondary school. Income from property is spent mostly on the other free schools.

The College has a library of about 2,000 books in Arabic and in French, a small chemical laboratory, and some maps in French and Arabic. It fosters a number of student activities including a literary and dramatic society, a lecture program, two library committees (one each for Arabic and for French books), a Boy Scout troop, and various athletic teams. A school magazine, edited largely by students, is published in Arabic.

The College is now preparing for first and second *baccalauréat*, as well as for the primary-school certificate and the *brevet*. Its diploma has been recognized by the universities in Egypt, and 4 students are already studying at Egyptian universities. At the time of the Commission's visit, English was started in the seventh grade, but it was planned to form a special English section by agreement with the American University of Beirut. In this section English would begin in the kindergarten and continue through the secondary school.

[81] The leaders of the Muslim Charitable Purposes movement may be said to represent in their outlook the opposite pole of the ideology represented by the al-Hikmah College and the Cultural League of Free Education. To them there is nothing that can be called Lebanese culture, but there is an Arab culture, or rather a world culture. They believe that Arabic should be the language of instruction and of expression. They attack the idea of French as a language of expression for Lebanese and Arabs: foreign languages should be taught for purposes of opening the gateways for acquisition of Western thought, but the expression of thought, whether Western or Eastern, should be in Arabic.

C162 177 They concede that the foreign-language situation in Lebanon is different from the rest of the Arab countries in that the Lebanese population is more urban, and a large part of the Lebanese villages are summer resorts frequented by people from abroad. The Lebanese, therefore, take more easily to the teaching of foreign languages because their environment fosters acquisition of languages. This, however, should not mean in any way the neglect of the Arabic language, and the use of a foreign language

LEBANON ME1

Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments to the End of the Second World War

433 439 471 [167] [17] 439 [79] 733 167

Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions, 1/ from early modern times. A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk; it also brought in missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1900, some 120,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of which over half were from Lebanon. In 1900-14, the yearly average rose to 15,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks. By 1900, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, its silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and its transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 16,300 in 1925, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of which slightly over half came from Lebanon.

---

434 1/ Net national income in 1950 was estimated at 1,000 million Lebanese pounds (see table 43), giving a per capita figure of 1 800 per annum. (Some confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1953 per capita income in a group of villages was 1 687. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their own houses (Salah H. Sawaya, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Hery, unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1953)). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1950 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably undervalues the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $250, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ S.H. Riesman (editor), The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut, 1936), page 16.

11: Houran 3-4 (no date) 1948 MD1 Syria Lebanon ref:

Again, there was the traditional attachment of the Maronites to France. This is dealt with elsewhere,[1] and its effects upon French sentiment are discussed. It had equally great effects upon Maronite sentiment. It affected the modern form of their political consciousness; it also gave them the assurance that Western Christendom had not forgotten them, and thus helped them to resist better than other Eastern Christian sects the temptations to despair and to Islamization to which their position laid them open. Some of them went so far as to adopt French as their native language; in Beirut to-day there are a number of interesting Lebanese Christian writers who use French as their medium of expression.

In the last few generations certain new factors have arisen to add their weight to that of tradition. The first of them is the rapid advance which the Lebanese have made in the assimilation of Western culture: Western schools were established earlier in Lebanon than in the interior of Syria, more Lebanese than Syrians emigrated to the New World, and Christians were in general more eager and able to understand the West and to become part of it than the Moslems. In many ways, although perhaps not in all, the Lebanese are the most Westernized of the Arabic-speaking peoples.

The growth of Arab nationalism has also affected Lebanese political thought. There were Lebanese, both Christians and Druses, among the founders of the nationalist movement, and still are among its most enthusiastic supporters. But very many Lebanese, even those who favour Arab unity and independence in principle, cannot help doubting whether Lebanon will gain anything from becoming part of a larger unit, the other parts of which are less advanced. Others, while conscious of themselves as in some sense Arabs and Orientals, also believe that the Lebanese tradition, different from although not necessarily exclusive of the Arab tradition, is worth preserving.

In addition to these developments, the revival of Christian thought which was mentioned in Chapter IV has influenced certain elements among the Lebanese. It has led them to regard Lebanon not primarily as the western frontier of the Arab world but as the eastern frontier of Christendom; and to ask, as the first and most profound of the political questions which face them, what are the conditions which will make

[1] See Chapter VIII.

175, 648, 177, 186

[For a survey of the political history of Leb
the French mandate, and information on wes
and nationalism in Lebanon, see Al Hourani,
entire source.]

Lebanon MEl

non before and during
ernization, sectarianism,
MDl Syria, category 116,

642. 728. 177. 565

/For an account of the political regime, social stratific
administration under the British and French Mandates
War, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116.

Syria	MD1
Israel	MF1
Jordan	MG1
Iraq	MH1
Lebanon	ME1

ation, and Westernizing of
llowing the First World
p. 88-101./

177.10 ---177.88

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955, ME: Lebanon ME:1

207 taxi season, which is still used a great deal—shooting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, 479 the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. Those in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to Jbeyl. The Beirut-Tripoli buses regularly stop at Hilwi, but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from Jbeyl if necessary.

286 In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at Hilwi. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one appendage in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at Hilwi and one in the 287 village proper, both in private houses. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from Jbeyl in whose shops radios blare away constantly.

● 1712.0 In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

label no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Mazrajiin. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Mazrajiin has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Mazrajiin some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.